

## Message Text

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O R 271441Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7969  
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 ANKARA 4868

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: SHUM, TU, CY  
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS EVALUATION: TURKEY

REF: STATE 145374

1. FOLLOWING ARE OUR RECOMMENDED CHANGES IN DRAFT EVAL-  
UATION IN REFTEL.

2. PARA 2:  
DELETE PARAGRAPH.  
SUBSTITUTE: "TURKEY HAS HAD A STRONG RECORD OF POLITICAL  
DEVELOPMENT SINCE THE FOUNDATION OF THE MODERN REPUBLIC OF  
TURKEY BY KEMAL ATATURK IN 1923 FOLLOWING THE COLLAPSE OF  
THE BACKWARD, REPRESSIVE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN WORLD WAR I.  
TOGETHER WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF WELL-ROOTED DEMOCRATIC  
INSTITUTIONS, TURKEY HAS MADE GREAT PROGRESS IN THE  
PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. TODAY IT IS A COUNTRY IN  
WHICH POLITICAL FREEDOM, A FREE PRESS AND MANY OTHER RIGHTS  
RESPECTED IN THE WEST EXIST SIDE BY SIDE WITH GOVERNMENTS  
SOMETIMES TOO WEAK TO PREVENT SERIOUS CIVIL DISORDERS.  
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HOWEVER, TURKISH ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICES STILL SHOW  
VESTIGES OF BY-GONE AUTHORITARIANISM. THE TURKISH ARMED  
FORCES CONSIDER THEMSELVES THE GUARDIANS OF THE ATATURK  
REFORMS AND THE GUARANTORS OF THE NATION'S SECURITY, AND IN  
THAT ROLE THEY CARRIED OUT A FULL-SCALE INTERVENTION IN THE  
GOVERNMENT IN 1960 AND A LIMITED INTERVENTION IN 1971, BOTH  
INTERVENTIONS BEING ACCOMPANIED BY HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. SINCE

THE 1973 ELECTIONS, HOWEVER, CIVILIAN LEADERS HAVE SUCCESSFULLY REASSERTED THEIR PRIMACY IN POLITICAL DECISIONS AND BOTH MAJOR PARTIES ARE STRONGLY COMMITTED TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES. THERE IS NO LEGAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MINORITY GROUPS WHOSE MEMBERS ENJOY FULL PROTECTION OF LAW AND CAN AS INDIVIDUALS RISE TO HIGH POSITIONS IN TURKISH SOCIETY. NEVERTHELESS, VARYING DEGREES OF SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION DO EXIST, AND MINOR FORMS OF HARASSMENT BY LOCAL OFFICIALS ARE OCCASIONALLY EVIDENT. DESPITE THE KILLINGS OF TURKISH DIPLOMATS AND THE FATAL BOMBINGS OF THE ISTANBUL AIRPORT AND RAILWAY STATION BY PERSONS ALLEGEDLY AFFILIATED WITH ARMENIAN GROUPS, TURKEY HAS BEEN ABLE TO PROTECT MEMBERS OF THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY FROM REPRISALS. SIMILARLY, DESPITE THE KILLING OR DISAPPEARANCE OF SEVERAL HUNDRED TURKISH-CYPRIOTS IN 1963-64, MEMBERS OF THE GREEK MINORITY IN TURKEY WERE PROTECTED. DESPITE BEING AN ISLAMIC COUNTRY, IT MAINTAINS DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. OVERALL, WE BELIEVE THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD OVER THE LAST 50 YEARS COMPARES FAVORABLY WITH THAT OF WESTERN COUNTRIES DURING THE SAME PERIOD, AND WITHIN ITS OWN REGION IS MATCHED ONLY BY THAT OF GREECE."

3. PARA 3:

CHANGE: "...IN OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES..."

TO: "...IN MOST WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES..."

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4. PARA 4:

A. DELETE SECOND SENTENCE.

SUBSTITUTE: "UNDER THE MARTIAL LAW REGIME IN EFFECT FROM 1971 TO 1973, DURING WHICH MANY LEFTISTS WERE IMPRISONED, A NUMBER OF MARTIAL LAW OFFICIALS APPEAR TO HAVE PRACTICED TORTURE AGAINST POLITICAL PRISONERS. HOWEVER, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT THE PRACTICE OF TORTURE WAS AT ANY TIME OFFICIALLY CONDONED BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THAT PERIOD. AN OFFICIAL INVESTIGATION JUST AFTER THE ENDING OF THE MARTIAL LAW REGIME WAS UNABLE TO PRODUCE ADEQUATE EVIDENCE OF TORTURE TO PERMIT PROSECUTION. AN AMNESTY IN 1974 RELEASED ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS, AND OTHER LEGISLATION RESTORED POLITICAL RIGHTS TO ALL THOSE PREVIOUSLY DEPRIVED OF THEM."

B. AFTER "...WERE REPORTED IN THE TURKISH PRESS",  
INSERT "(AND ONLY IN HIGHLY POLEMICAL PAPERS)..."

C. CHANGE: "WHILE INCIDENTS OF TORTURE DO STILL OCCUR..."

TO: "WHILE INCIDENTS OF TORTURE MAY STILL OCCUR..."

5. PARA 7 (A):

A. CHANGE: "ARTICLES 141 AND 142 OF THE CONSTITUTION..."

TO: "ARTICLES 141 AND 142 OF THE CRIMINAL CODE..."

B. CHANGE: "...APPARENTLY BEEN USED TO ARREST LEFTISTS,  
ESPECIALLY DURING THE PERIOD OF MILITARY CONTROL."

TO: "...BEEN USED TO PROSECUTE NON-COMMUNIST LEFTISTS DURING  
THE 1971-73 MARTIAL LAW PERIOD."

C. ADD AT END OF PARA: "ARTICLE 163 HAS BECOME LARGELY  
INOPERATIVE WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF A RELIGIOUSLY BASED  
PARTY IN THE COALITION GOVERNMENTS RULING TURKEY SINCE 1974.  
ARTICLE 163'S REPEAL COULD WELL STRENGTHEN THIS PARTY AND  
OTHER REACTIONARY FORCES WHICH OPPOSE TURKEY'S WESTERN  
ORIENTATION AND ARE LEAST TOLERANT TOWARD MINORITY GROUPS."

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6. PARA 7 (B):

A. IN THE FIRST SENTENCE CHANGE: "THE HISTORY OF TURKEY..."  
TO: "THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE..."

B. DELETE SECOND SENTENCE. AT THAT POINT,  
INSERT: "BY THE 1923 TREATY OF LAUSANNE, THE THEN  
NEWLY FOUNDED REPUBLIC OF TURKEY COMMITTED ITSELF TO PROTECT  
THE GREEK, JEWISH, AND ARMENIAN MINORITIES IN TURKEY. SINCE  
THEN, TURKEY HAS GENERALLY MADE GOOD ON THAT COMMITMENT,  
WITH TWO NOTABLE EXCEPTIONS:

(1) CONFISCATORY TAX LAWS APPLIED BRIEFLY DURING WORLD  
WAR II WHICH SEEMED DIRECTED AT MINORITY MEMBERS; AND

(2) THE ANTI-GREEK RIOTS IN ISTANBUL IN 1955 IN WHICH  
THE MENDERES GOVERNMENT APPARENTLY CONNIVED."

C. IN THE FOURTH SENTENCE  
CHANGE: "NOTICEABLE"  
TO: "OFFICIAL".

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FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7970

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

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D. ADD TO THE LAST SENTENCE: "...BUT IT APPEARS TO BE THE LATTER."

E. AT THE END OF THE PARAGRAPH, ADD: "THE GOVERNMENT WHICH RESIGNED IN EARLY JUNE 1977 INCLUDED TWO SMALL RIGHTIST PARTIES HOSTILE TO MINORITIES; AND ALTHOUGH GOVERNMENT POLICY DID NOT REFLECT THAT HOSTILITY, COMPLAINTS OF MINORITY GROUPS WERE OFTEN DIRECTED AGAINST INDIVIDUAL OFFICIALS FROM THOSE TWO PARTIES. THERE IS SOME SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST TURKEY'S MANY MOSLEM MINORITIES, INCLUDING BOTH CULTURAL MINORITIES SUCH AS SHIITES AND ETHNIC MINORITIES SUCH AS ARABS."

7. PARA 8:

A. THIS PARAGRAPH BELONGS AS A SUB-PARAGRAPH UNDER PARAGRAPH 7 ("OTHER AREAS OF INTEREST").

B. IN THE FIRST SENTENCE, FOLLOWING "THE KURDS...", INSERT: "WHO ARE TURKEY'S LARGEST MINORITY WITH AN ESTIMATED SEVEN TO EIGHT PERCENT OF THE POPULATION,".

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C. ADD TO FINAL SENTENCE: "...AND THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF KURDISH AREAS IS PROGRESSING WITH GOVERNMENT HELP."

D. ADD AT END OF PARAGRAPH: "IN THE INTEREST OF NATIONAL UNITY, TURKEY APPLIES THE SAME POLICY TO ALL MINORITY GROUPS OTHER THAN THE TREATY-EXEMPTED GREEKS, ARMENIANS, AND JEWS. THE OTHER ETHNIC MINORITIES INCLUDE ARABS, CIRCASSIANS, LAZES, ABKHASIANS, GEORGIANS, TURKESTANIS, AFRICANS, GYPSIES, AND SEVERAL EASTERN EUROPEAN GROUPS."

8. PARA 9:

A. THIS PARAGRAPH ALSO SHOULD BE A SUB-PARAGRAPH UNDER PARA 7.

B. AFTER THE SECOND SENTENCE, INSERT THE FOLLOWING:

"(AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL HAS CHARGED THAT MOST OF THE DEATHS RESULTED FROM RIGHTIST ATTACKS CONDONED BY THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT. PROBABLY A MORE ACCURATE DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION IS THAT BOTH LEFT AND RIGHT WERE GUILTY OF ATTACKS ON ONE ANOTHER; AND THAT WHILE THE GOVERNMENT COALITION IN POWER FROM APRIL 1975 TO JUNE 1977 INCLUDED A PARTY WHICH BACKED A VIOLENT, FAR RIGHT STUDENT GROUP, THE CONTINUATION OF VIOLENCE SEEMS PRIMARILY THE RESULT OF A WEAK GOVERNMENT'S INABILITY TO STOP EITHER SIDE FROM CONTINUING THE FIGHTING.)

C. ADD AT END OF PARAGRPH: "(HOWEVER, MILITARY INTERVENTION CANNOT BE RULED OUT IF THE COUNTRY'S SITUATION BECOMES CRITICAL.) CIVILIAN AUTHORITY WAS STRENGTHENED IN 1976 BY THE ABOLITION OF SPECIAL COURTS COMPOSED OF BOTH CIVILIAN AND MILITARY JUDGES WHO TRIED CASES INVOLVING THREATS TO NATIONAL SECURITY. THE INTERNAL SECURITY PROBLEM WAS A MAJOR ISSUE OF THE 1977 ELECTION CAMPAIGN."  
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9. PARA 11:

IN THE SECOND SENTENCE AFTER "...HAS OCCURRED IN CYPRUS", DELETE: "...THE INTERACTIONS OF GREEK AND TURKISH-CYPRIOTS CERTAINLY BEING THE MAJOR CAUSE OF DIFFICULTY."  
SUBSTITUTE: "THE CYPRUS PROBLEM IN ITS CURRENT PHASE BEGAN WITH GREECE'S SUPPORT OF A TERRORIST CAMPAIGN IN CYPRUS STARTING IN 1955 WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF UNITING CYPRUS WITH GREECE. SUBSEQUENTLY, TURKEY TOOK RENEWED INTEREST IN THE ISLAND, WHERE THE TURKISH COMMUNITY COMPOSED 18 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION. THE INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS, ESTABLISHED IN 1960, BROKEDOWN IN DECEMBER 1963 WHEN INTER-COMMUNAL FIGHTING ERUPTED. SEVERAL HUNDRED TURKISH CYPRIOTS --MOSTLY NON-COMBATANTS--WERE KILLED OR DISAPPEARED OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS. IN THE DECADE FROM 1964 TO 1974, MOST OF THE TURKISH-CYPRIOT COMMUNITY WAS WITHDRAWN INTO SMALL DEFENSIVE ENCLAVES HOUSING MANY REFUGEES AND CONTROLLING LESS THAN 5 PERCENT OF THE ISLAND'S AREA. IN 1964 AND 1967, GREEK-CYPRIOT ATTACKS ON TURKISH-CYPRIOT ENCLAVES BROUGHT TURKEY TO THE BRINK OF INTERVENTION, BUT U.S. DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS WERE SUCCESSFUL IN DISSUADING TURKEY. IN JULY 1974, WHEN THE GREEK GOVERNMENT DEPOSED MAKARIOS AND INSTALLED A GOVERNMENT FAVORING UNION WITH GREECE AND LED BY A PERSON WIDELY HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING OF MANY TURKISH-CYPRIOTS, EFFORTS TO DISSUADE TURKEY FROM INTERVENING WERE UNSUCCESSFUL."

10. PARA 12:

DELETE THE FIRST TWO SENTENCES. ADD THE FINAL SENTENCE TO THE PRECEDING PARAGRAPH AS AMENDED.

11. PARA 14:

WE QUESTION THE ASSERTION, "NONE OF THE ACTIONS CONSIDERED IN THE REPORT ARE (IS?) CONTINUING...". HOWEVER, WE DEFER TO WHATEVER OBSERVATION EMBASSY NICOSIA MAY MAKE ON THIS POINT.

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12. PARA 16:

IT SEEMS TO US THAT CONTRARY TO THE ASSERTION IN THE FIRST SENTENCE OF THIS PARAGRAPH, CONSIDERATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY TOWARD TURKEY SHOULD START FROM SOME STATEMENT OF WHAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS ARE. THESE PROBLEMS, AND OUR WORKING OBJECTIVES WITH RESPECT TO THEM, SHOULD THEN BE STATED IN THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH OVERALL U.S. POLICY GOALS. WE THEREFORE SUGGEST DELETING PARAS 16 THROUGH 21, SUBSTITUTING THE FOLLOWING:

BEGIN QUOTE

ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

16. THE PRINCIPAL PRESENT AND POTENTIAL HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS WHICH U.S. POLICY TOWARD TURKEY SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT ARE:

A. TURKEY'S DUE SHARE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE COMPLEX BALANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN CYPRUS DURING 22 YEARS OF INTERMITTENT VIOLENCE, TOGETHER WITH THE CONTRIBUTION THAT TURKEY CAN MAKE TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT THAT WOULD REMEDY SUCH ABUSES.

B. THE DANGER THAT ANOTHER MILITARY INTERVENTION IN DOMESTIC POLITICS WOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND WOULD SET BACK DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT.

C. THE GOVERNMENT'S DIFFICULTY IN STOPPING THE HIGH LEVEL OF POLITICAL KILLINGS AMONG EXTREMIST STUDENT GROUPS.

D. THE DANGER THAT CONTINUED TERRORISM AGAINST TURKISH DIPLOMATS AND OTHER INNOCENT TARGETS BY ALLEGED ARMENIAN ORGANIZATIONS COULD CREATE INCREASINGLY STRONG PRESSURE FOR SOME FORM OF RETALIATION AGAINST ARMENIANS.

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E. THE PROBLEM OF TURKISH POLICY TOWARD THE KURDS, AND SPECIFICALLY THE LIKELIHOOD THAT A RESURGENCE OF KURDISH SEPARATISM WOULD BE SEVERELY REPRESSED.

F. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S CONCERN THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE ABRIDGED BY ARTICLES 141, 142 AND 163 OF THE CRIMINAL CODE (SEE ABOVE), AS WELL AS OCCASIONAL ALLEGATIONS OF POLICE USE OF TORTURE.

G. COMPLAINTS OF UNFAIR TREATMENT OF THE GREEK AND ARMENIAN COMMUNITIES IN TURKEY.

17. THESE PROBLEMS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN THE CONTEXT OF OVERALL U.S. POLICY GOALS FOR TURKEY, AND ACTION REGARDING THEM SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO SERVE THOSE GOALS, WHICH OF THEMSELVES HAVE STRONG HUMAN RIGHTS IMPLICATIONS:

A. A STABLE, DEMOCRATIC TURKEY CLOSELY TIED TO THE WEST AND FULLY INTEGRATED INTO NATO.

B. THE RESTORATION OF A FIRM U.S.-TURKISH SECURITY RELATION-  
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SHIP THROUGH THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT AND A SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.

18. THE GENERAL LINES OF ACTION THAT THE U.S. SHOULD FOLLOW  
IN REGARD TO THE PROBLEMS LISTED IN PARAGRAPH 16 ARE:

A. CYPRUS: OUR PRIMARY EMPHASIS SHOULD BE ON REACHING A  
SETTLEMENT, NOT ON ATTEMPTING TO JUDGE GUILT OR ASSESS PUNISH-  
MENT. ACTIVE TURKISH COOPERATION IS ESSENTIAL TO SOLVING THE  
CYPRUS PROBLEM. WE SHOULD CONTINUE EFFORTS TO PERSUADE  
TURKEY THAT IT IS IN ITS OWN NATIONAL INTEREST AS WELL AS OURS  
TO CONTRIBUTE IN A POSITIVE WAY TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SETTLE-  
MENT ON CYPRUS. TO PRESERVE OUR IMPARTIAL STANDING WITH BOTH  
SIDES, WE SHOULD AVOID LENDING OURSELVES TO MANEUVERS  
BY EITHER OF THEM TO PLACE A MONOPOLY OF BLAME ON THE OTHER FOR  
HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. HOWEVER, WE SHOULD TRY TO MAKE  
CERTAIN THAT BOTH PARTIES UNDERSTAND THAT ANY LASTING  
POLITICAL SETTLEMENT MUST BE ONE IN WHICH BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS  
ARE PROTECTED AND PROVISIONS ARE MADE FOR ADEQUATE COMPENSATION  
FOR PAST WRONGS.

B. MILITARY INTERVENTION: WE SHOULD TAKE APPROPRIATE  
OPPORTUNITIES, BOTH IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND IN PRIVATE CON-  
VERSATIONS WITH TURKISH MILITARY AND CIVILIAN LEADERS, TO  
EXPRESS OUR ADMIRATION FOR TURKEY'S DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT AND  
TO STRESS THE NECESSITY THAT TURKEY, AS A NATO MEMBER,  
REMAIN DEMOCRATIC. IF THE ARMED FORCES DO NEVERTHELESS  
INTERVENE, WE SHOULD IMMEDIATELY MAKE CLEAR OUR STRONG OPPO-  
SITION TO ANY CURTAILMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS AS WELL  
AS OUR SUPPORT FOR THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC  
RULE.

C. POLITICAL KILLINGS: UNTIL A NEW GOVERNMENT HAS WON A  
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PARLIAMENTARY VOTE OF CONFIDENCE AND HAS HAD A CHANCE TO TAKE  
ACTION ON THIS PROBLEM (WHICH WAS A MAJOR ISSUE OF THE RECENT  
ELECTION CAMPAIGN), NO U.S. ACTION IS APPROPRIATE.

D. ANTI-TURKISH TERRORISM: WE SHOULD PUBLICLY CONDEMN THE  
TERRORIST ACTIONS AGAINST TURKISH DIPLOMATS AND OTHER INNOCENT  
VICTIMS, REGARDLESS OF THE SOURCE OF THE ACTION. IN CONTACTS  
WITH LEADERS OF GREEK AND ARMENIAN GROUPS IN THE U.S., WE SHOULD  
DO ALL WE CAN TO PERSUADE THEM TO POOSE IN EVERY WAY  
POSSIBLE THE USE OF TERRORISM OR OTHER VIOLENT METHODS BY  
PERSONS WHO CLAIM AFFILIATION WITH THEIR CAUSES. BY SO  
DOING, WE CAN BITH SEEK TO STOP THE TERRORISM AND CREATE A SOUND  
BASIS FOR DISSUADING THE TURKS, IF NECESSARY, FROM EMBARKING  
ON A RETALIATORY POLICY.

E. KURDS: WE SHOULD IN NO WAY ALLOW THE U.S. TO BECOME  
IDENTIFIED AS FAVORING OR ENCOURAGING THE CAUSE OF KURDISH



SEPARATISM, SINCE BY SO DOING: (1) WE WOULD BE TAKING A HOSTILE STAND AGAINST A NATO PARTNER, AND (2) WE MIGHT TRIGGER A VIOLENT UPRISING THAT CLEARLY WOULD BE NEARLY SUICIDAL FOR THE KURDS AND EXTREMELY DISRUPTIVE AND WEAKENING FOR TURKEY. HOWEVER, WE SHOULD AS APPROPRIATE SUPPORT THE CONTINUED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF KURDISH AREAS, AND WE SHOULD SEEK TO INCLUDE MORE KURDS IN OUR INTERNATIONAL VISITOR AND OTHER PROGRAMS.

F. LEGAL RESTRICTIONS AND TORTURE ALLEGATIONS: THE POSSIBLE AMENDMENT OF THE CRIMINAL CODE TO DELETE ARTICLES 141, 142, AND 163 IS A SUBJECT OF CURRENT POLITICAL DEBATE. AN INTERVENTION BY THE U.S. IN THAT DEBATE WOULD CLEARLY BE INAPPROPRIATE AND WIDELY RESENTED. AS REGARDS TORTURE, ONE PROBLEM HERETOFORE HAS BEEN THE ABSENCE OF VERIFIED INFORMATION. IF SUCH INFORMATION DOES EMERGE, AND IF THE TURKISH JUDICIAL AND POLITICAL PROCESSES DO NOT ACT UPON IT, A DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION BY THE U.S. SHOULD BE CONSIDERED.

G. GREEK AND ARMENIAN COMPLAINTS: WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO  
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MAINTAIN OUR PAST CONTACTS BOTH WITH GREEK AND ARMENIAN COMMUNITY LEADERS IN TURKEY AND WITH GREEK AND ARMENIAN GROUP LEADERS IN THE U.S. WE SHOULD ALSO CONTINUE TO FOLLOW UP ANY ALLEGATIONS OF UNFAIR TREATMENT BY TURKISH AUTHORITIES AND, WHENEVER AN ALLEGATION IS FOUND JUSTIFIED, CONSIDER WHAT ACTION--INCLUDING POSSIBLE DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION--MIGHT BE BEST SUITED TO CORRECT THE SITUATION. HOWEVER, WE SHOULD BE WARY OF AROUSING TURKISH SUSPICIONS THAT WE ARE FOLLOWING THE EXAMPLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY STATES WHO WHITTLED DOWN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE BY ESPOUSING CHRISTIAN MINORITIES. END QUOTE.

13. PARA 22:

AFTER THE FIRST SENTENCE, INSERT THE FOLLOWING:

"TURKS ALSO HAVE A CONTINUING INTEREST IN THE PROTECTION OF TURKISH MINORITIES IN GREECE AND IN BULGARIA AND ARE CONCERNED WITH THE REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIIES INVOLVING TURKISH REFUGEES FROM BULGARIA."

14. CONGEN ISTANBUL HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THIS REVIEW.  
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